

Government archives

In both states, government documents are filed away for 30, 50 or more years according to the sensitivity of the information and whether publication would breach a confidence. Researchers are liable to find that officials have weeded out vital papers before storing or releasing the file; alternatively, the file or parts of it may be reclassified and consigned to darkness for another 20 years or more.

Some documents relating to British rule in Ireland up to 1921 are regarded as so secret that their contents may not be known until 100 years after the events to which they relate. The problem is not new; it has been mentioned by many historians of modern Ireland.

It may never be known how much Stormont material has been, or will be, weeded before public access is permitted. A leading librarian in the province has complained specifically about the removal of political material from files in the NI Public Records Office. The RUC has also withheld documents seized in raids when there is no longer any possible security value, for example the minutes of unofficial camp council meetings in Long Kesh prison during the early 1970s.

Secrecy and censorship in prisons

The NI prison population is, at about 1,700 sentenced prisoners, more than one per thousand of the general populace. A high proportion are imprisoned for what may be regarded as political offences. There are in addition a considerable number imprisoned or remanded in Britain or in the Republic for offences connected with the Troubles.

To what extent do, or should, prisoners have civil rights? By definition they have lost the right to liberty, with the secondary freedoms dependent on that - freedom of movement, a normal family life and so on. But it does not follow that their rights in respect of the free flow of information are, or should be, withdrawn by the prison sentence, or transformed into discretionary privileges. A House of Lords ruling in 1983 said that a prisoner "retains all rights which are not taken away

expressly or by implication", but in practice the prison system has discretion to withdraw what are regarded outside prison as rights.

A fundamental aspect of the freedom of expression is the right to participate in political discussion. Prisoners have no right to vote in either state, and after the election and death of Bobby Sands MP in 1981 they were deprived of the right to stand for election in the UK. Thus their ability to participate in national politics is severely restricted. If there is a genuine intention to convert paramilitaries into law-abiding citizens, it would be logical to integrate them as far as possible in the institutions and processes of civil society by restoring the vote, lifting restrictions on educational activities, and permitting and even encouraging prisoners to join parties and engage in political debate.

In both states, prisoners normally have no access to telephones and there is official censorship of the incoming and outgoing correspondence. In addition a record is kept in NI prisons of those with whom a prisoner exchanges letters, and this data is given to Life Sentence Review Boards. Prisoners have been denied the right to correspond in the Irish language, and Irish-language bibles were confiscated in November 1987.

Prisoners are not normally allowed to give television or radio interviews, although one might have thought that society, particularly in Northern Ireland, could only gain from a heightened awareness of prison life and the opportunity to observe the criminal personality. (During the 1980-81 hunger strikes, there was a small concession: one TV company was allowed to put one question to one hunger striker.) Press interviews are also severely restricted; the normal practice has been to require journalists visiting prisoners to sign a form promising not to publish anything about the visit. Restrictions on the receipt of publications by prisoners have in theory been lifted after European Court action, but some NI prisoners - for example in the new Maghaberry prison - report continued difficulty and delay in obtaining books and journals.

The origins of this restriction of communication are obscure - certainly it has been the rule in both British and Irish prisons for at least a century. There is no public outcry and most prisoners take censorship for granted; but it is an intrusion

into the privacy of the prisoners and those who wish to correspond with them, and one which the European Court has condemned.

With the presumed concern of the prison authorities to provide a humane and, if possible, rehabilitative regime, this is an area where reform could be considered. No amount of communication into or out of a well-run prison should imperil security; the abolition of censorship would have the compensatory benefits of creating a less oppressive relationship with the staff and enhancing constructive contact between the prisoner and his family and friends.

Prisoners serving life or indeterminate sentences in Northern Ireland (27 per cent of the total, against 6 per cent in Britain) are considered by the Life Sentence Review Board, which determines when a prisoner may be released or after how many years his case should next be reviewed. The criteria used are secret, so that prisoners do not actually know what they may do to increase their chances of release; decisions are arrived at in secret; neither the prisoner nor his legal representative may attend; the prisoner is not allowed legal aid or assistance; he has no access to, or right to challenge, the statements made about him and other information on which the decision is based; the reasons for an unfavourable decision are not formally advised to the prisoner, although as a very recent concession a brief oral account may be given.

In the Republic the position is, if anything, worse in that there is no Review Board and no information is given to prisoners by the Department of Justice on its internal review procedures.

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Book censorship

A threat to the availability of information on the administration of Northern Ireland is the present British government's obsessional pursuit of some isolated instances of unauthorised disclosures in books by former public servants, where no damage to national security is involved or where greater damage could conceivably result from non-disclosure.

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The celebrated late 1980s cases of the *Spycatcher* book and another autobiography, *One Girl's War* by former MI5 operative Joan Miller, are of special interest in the Irish context. The indifference of the Republic's courts to the purported lifelong duty of confidentiality led to the situation whereby books banned in the North were sold openly, since there was no way of stopping their importation across the border.

Disclosures of improper activity by security agencies in Northern Ireland appear in Paul Foot's book about a former military intelligence operative (*Who Framed Colin Wallace?*, Macmillan, London, 1989), and in a similar but autobiographical account from Frank Holroyd. Other books on MI5 and Northern Ireland are in preparation.

Another case in which the book industry has been affected by what might be seen as a censorship measure in Northern Ireland was the November 1988 arrest and 24-hour detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act of Peter Clifford of Pathfinder Press. He had just visited a customer in the Maze prison and said that his interrogation focused on the sales and plans of his company.

Inquests and public inquiries

If the purpose of an inquest into a death is to establish information, then anything which delays, prevents or interferes with it constitutes an impediment to freedom of information. In Northern Ireland there are a large number of adjourned or still unopened inquests on victims of the Troubles; some of the cases date back to 1982 and are still the focus of heated political debate.

The first inquest into the six 1982 Stalker case killings by the RUC opened only in November 1988 (after a coroner resigned over irregularities in police files). An inquest on three men shot by the Army in 1985 took place in 1987, with numerous procedural errors. The inquest on Aidan McAnespie, killed by an Army bullet in February 1988, was not opened until November 1988 and was then postponed indefinitely.

Another obstacle to the pursuit of truth at inquests arises from the use of Public Interest Immunity Certificates, which can prevent the disclosure of evidence. This procedure was used in the inquest held in Gibraltar into the killing there of three IRA personnel in 1988. Those killings have been the subject of several demands for a public or judicial inquiry. Demands for public inquiries into other controversies arising from the Troubles have frequently been ignored by the authorities.

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9. FIGHTING CENSORSHIP

Censorship of political information and opinion is more than an injury to a basic civil right: it is an insult to the intelligence of the people. It implies that there are those who are qualified to judge what we may and may not be permitted to see - what is bland enough to be safe, and what is a little too dangerous or persuasive to risk exposure to the masses. The advocates of censorship often regard themselves as among an intellectual elite which is immune from the effects of propaganda, but which has a duty to protect the ordinary people: witness the arguments put forward in favour of the 1988 UK broadcasting ban.

Following the announcement of the ban in the Commons Unionist MP Ken Maginnis said that it was "aimed at protecting, not the intelligent viewer, but young people who can be influenced by the likes of Gerry Adams... on television". Surprisingly, the implication that news and current affairs broadcasting - the main affected areas - ought to be circumscribed to what is incapable of affecting the stupid or the immature went unchallenged in the House. *The Times* picked up Mr Maginnis's line: "the unthinking viewer can be all too easily swayed".

Opposition within the media

In choosing their profession broadcasters and journalists have assumed a duty to the public, an obligation which transcends considerations of policy and personal advancement. Not only must they resist self-censorship in their own work and in their media; with a little imagination and effort they can use their positions to expose, challenge and ridicule imposed censorship. Some of the ways in which they can do, and occasionally have done, are discussed in Chapter 5 (Self-censorship). With a few exceptions, they have chosen the more comfortable path of acquiescence.

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There have always been some who are willing to take risks and make sacrifices to register their opposition. During the 1970's, leading investigative BBC reporters, Peter Taylor, Jonathan Dimbleby and Keith Kyle, expressed alarm in articles in the *Listener* over neglect of the Northern Ireland question and growing censorship pressures. Most censorship decisions follow internal discussion in the media organisation, authority, institution or government body concerned, and there are many who have defended free speech in such discussions, or who have made representations or protests to their managements. If resistance is confined to such discreet and internal advocacy, however, it is almost inevitable that the resisters will be worn down over time: no-one wants to stand out in what Irish broadcaster Prionsias Mac Aonghusa describes as "a censorship culture" as the one awkward individual who champions every unpopular cause. It is preferable by far that the protest should be public, since it is the public whose rights are infringed by censorship and it is public pressure which can bring change.

Resistance can take many forms. In 1971, Granada TV carried on making a *World in Action* programme, "South of the Border", after the ITA had banned it; the ITA looked at the finished product and confirmed the ban. In 1979 the BBC tested the perception that the 1974 PTA prevented interviews with terrorists by broadcasting one with an INLA spokesman; the government backed down from a threat to prosecute and the five-year de facto ban was ended. In 1982 the BBC re-broadcast a censored documentary, *Children in Crossfire* (1974), but other censored or criticised programmes have been denied repeats.

Sometimes broadcasters have attempted to insert "health warnings" in censored films (but in the 1976 and 1977 showings of a BBC Scotland documentary, the producers' statement was deliberately omitted) or they have left the screens blank to demonstrate the position and duration of cuts. On one notable occasion a media union forced the issue; the ACTT shop in Thames simply refused to broadcast a substitute for a banned Thames documentary on RUC ill-treatment of detainees in 1978, and screens remained blank. RTE journalists threatened to suspend coverage of the 1983

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Westminster elections in those NI constituencies where Sinn Féin candidates could not be interviewed, but a subsequent meeting backed down. In 1985, journalists throughout UK broadcasting staged a 24-hour strike to protest at government interference in the *Real Lives* case. Strikes were contemplated soon after the 1988 ban, but were called off; the next day Mrs Thatcher told a Polish audience how important "openness and freedom of speech" was to modern societies.

Those involved in making programmes have issued statements or open letters denouncing censorship (Robert Holles, *The Vanishing Army* BBC, 1979, and members of the *Open Door* selection panel, BBC, 1982). Others have asked that their names be removed from the credits of programmes which have been interfered with: writer Shane Connaughton in 1977 (*Eighteen Months to Balcombe Street*, LWT), and writer Caryl Churchill and director Roland Joffe in 1978 (*Play for Today*, BBC). Where the issue is sufficiently important, some have resigned (Colin Thomas, BBC director; 1978, the BBC Controller NI, 1985, persuaded to withdraw) or have had themselves dismissed (Roger Bolton, BBC editor; 1979, won reinstatement).

A novel way of circumventing the ban imposed by one authority is to show the material, or parts of it, on another network. BBC's *Nationwide* showed extracts of the banned Thames documentary on torture in 1978; ATV's *Tiswas* showed a pop video on Belfast banned by the BBC in 1981. Some broadcasters have assisted legal challenges to censorship measures. Other useful ways of highlighting censorship are to publish information or make programmes about it (BBC2 16th November 1988; BBC1 9th January 1989; but such programmes can themselves be censored, as in the 1979 *Spotlight* case), to give public showings to affected programmes (the banned *Mother Ireland* film from Derry, now distributed on video), or to award prizes (*Creggan*, 1980, won two major awards but even the censored version has been denied a repeat showing). Secrecy in the "Section 42" employment cases (see Chapter 8) has also been criticised in a BBC programme, *Taking Liberties*.

Broadcasting other than under the auspices of the IBA or the BBC is not covered by the 1988 UK ban, so UKC Radio, a

student-run station at the University of Kent at Canterbury, decided to broadcast a speech made there by a Sinn Féin member in January 1989. The general secretary of the Students' Union subsequently received a death threat.

Legal challenges to the UK broadcasting ban

Within weeks of the UK ban the NUJ announced that it was to mount a legal challenge to it and to Section 31 in Ireland. ARTICLE 19 has played a co-ordinating role in the litigation. The broadcasting authorities declined to join the case.

In May 1989 the UK case opened in the High Court.³⁴ Seven broadcast journalists sought judicial review, making several points; the ban was unnecessary in view of the trifling amount of coverage given in the past and the anti-terrorist tenor and effect of such coverage; it was difficult to apply; it removed editorial control from broadcasters to the government; it prevented the public being fully and impartially informed; and it forced broadcasters to police themselves as to whether views and utterances were broadcastable. The judgment, however, held that the Home Secretary was acting within the very wide powers given him by the Statute, Licence and Agreement, making political judgements within his discretion and competence and in accordance with the exceptions specified in article 10 of the European Convention; the ban might have been disproportionate to the mischief supposedly prevented or the benefit obtained, but the powers of judicial review did not extend to such instances.

The case will be argued before the Court of Appeal in November; thereafter if unsuccessful the applicants intend to take it to the European Commission of Human Rights.

The National Council for Civil Liberties (Liberty/NCCL) issued proceedings in early 1989 on behalf of a Brighton Labour councillor, Richard Stanton, whose speech at a local meeting on Northern Ireland had been censored by television and radio

34> *Regina v Secretary of State for the Home Dept., ex parte Brind & others*, in the High Court, Queen's Bench Division

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stations. The case had to be abandoned in May when Mr Stanton was refused legal aid. Another case brought in the High Court in Belfast by Sinn Féin councillor Mitchell McLaughlin foundered when he was also refused legal aid in June 1989. Both applicants had hoped to contest the ban up to the European Court.

The interesting possibility exists that the ban, precisely because it is aimed at NI organisations, has no legal effect in the province, at least as it affects the BBC. The Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973 prohibits the government from discriminating on political grounds unless acting under an Act of Parliament; the BBC ban was made under a Licence and Agreement, not an Act, and would thus appear to be open to challenge and injunction in the NI courts (depending on an interpretation of the 1949 Act under which the Licence was issued).

Legal challenge to Section 31 and the Irish Broadcasting Ban

In August 1989 the NUJ and the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland with the assistance of ARTICLE 19 launched a challenge to the Irish broadcasting ban with the European Commission of Human Rights. The applicants cite three articles of the European Convention: those governing freedom of expression, discrimination and the right to effective remedies. They also refer to a Protocol of the Convention concerning freedom of expression in connection with elections. The challenge relies partly on affidavits from journalists and others affected by the ban and importantly includes affidavits from the management of RTE; the Director General, Vincent Finn, the Director of Radio News, Michael Goode, Wesley Boyd, Director of Television and the Comtroller of TV and Radio, Mr Bob Collins. No decision is expected before late 1990.

Campaigning activity

Several organisations have decided, or been created, to combat censorship and to promote freedom of information within and in relation to Northern Ireland. The media unions,

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civil liberties groups, the Campaign for Free Speech on Ireland, Information on Ireland, the Committee on the Administration of Justice, the Repeal Section 31 Committee, Media Watch, the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom (CPBF) have all campaigned on Irish information rights in recent years. ARTICLE 19 has campaigned on these issues and others in Ireland and Britain from the standpoint of the international standards on freedom of information and freedom of expression. This report is a further contribution. There are many other local, national and international organisations which address one or more of the issues identified in this report from a political, religious or humanitarian perspective.

Liberty/NCCL has been active on a number of secrecy issues related to the Troubles. In 1988 it was represented in a panel which reported on the secret political vetting of community groups seeking public funding.³⁵ With the New York-based International League for Human Rights it has co-published a book on the Gibraltar killings³⁶ which inter alia supports the calls for a new, full and public inquiry into the events.

A "Petition Against the Ban" was organised in July-August 1989 by the CPBF, and secured the support of many MPs, trade union leaders, lawyers, entertainers, writers and other prominent personalities. The petition was presented to 10 Downing Street on 19th October, the first anniversary of the ban.

The West Belfast newspaper *Andersonstown News* organised an anti-censorship conference in December 1988, and numerous local gatherings across Britain and Ireland have discussed the issues and watched censored TV films such as *Mother Ireland*. Sinn Féin has made its own "news videos".

35> details from Community Groups Against Vetting, Conway Mill, Conway Street, Belfast

36> *The Gibraltar Report*, Hilary Kitchen, 1989

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10. CONCLUSIONS

The Troubles in Northern Ireland have imposed great suffering on the people of that province, and to a lesser degree on those of Britain and the Irish state. They have been accompanied by official and unofficial encroachment on civil and political rights, including many of the rights contained within or dependent on the freedom of information. Since much of this activity has been explained and defended in terms of the stated need to give priority to the suppression of terrorism, it raises two fundamental concerns: does it work, and is it right?

Does it work?

In what ways, and to what degree, have the various restrictive measures and practices described above, and the general lack of openness and accessibility of information, hampered the search for a permanent and peaceful solution to the complex problems of communal relationships within and between the islands of Ireland and Britain?

That is, perhaps, an imponderable, even in relation to the events of the past twenty years. The civil rights movement of the late 1960s might not have been fuelled by such resentment had not the Stormont government sought for 45 years to marginalise and disable minority political expression by a combination of gerrymandering and coercion. The backlash from the majority community might have been less unthinkingly destructive had it not become accustomed to the notion that there was no such thing as a right to peaceful protest - that dissent, in fact, equalled subversion. And if the combination of Catholic/Nationalist frustration and Protestant/Unionist intransigence had been able to find open and honest expression in representative institutions, and if the lack of informed interest on the part of media and national parliaments had not prevented the raising of the issues before

the wider British and Irish public, the situation might not have degenerated so rapidly and seemingly irrevocably into irrational and self-perpetuating brutality.

It requires a longer historical perspective, and more information, than is now available to analyse the strategic thinking behind the response of the provincial, British and Irish authorities to the eruption of street protest and violence. The first thought of any government threatened with internal revolt has always been to first extinguish the flames, and then seek causes and preventative measures. If that was the reasoning of the British and Northern Irish authorities, as successive memoirs and revelations appear to confirm, then it has to be pointed out that the fires are still burning twenty years on.

Something more than, something other than counter-insurgency techniques, however sophisticated, is needed. Nor will silencing or ignoring dissent encourage it to go away; the effects are quite the opposite. Censorship, and its inevitable companion, self-censorship, oblige those whose views are suppressed to find alternative means of access to the headlines. The appearance of indifference to the root causes of the conflict, as opposed to the containment of the resulting violence, is one of the most powerful incentives for the disaffected to turn to revolutionary rather than persuasive approaches.

There is no published evidence whatever that, to take one of the censorship measures, the 1988 UK broadcasting ban has had the predicted effect of diminishing support for the 11 listed organisations. Some very crude potential indicators are available, such as the Sinn Féin vote - which in the 1989 local government elections held to within 0.7 per cent of the previous level, although some seats were lost - and the number of deaths, which in the year after the ban was lower than in the year before it (although murders by Loyalist gangs affected by the ban remained at the same level). Not even the staunchest defenders of the ban have publicly suggested to date that the overall decline in deaths (roughly, from 100 to 75) was wholly, or even significantly, attributable to it; as in the maintenance of the SF vote, all sorts of other factors could be cited. Just as the decline in deaths might have been greater without the ban,

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so might the ban have boosted the SF vote; it is simply impossible to say. And if it is impossible to measure the impact of the ban, how can it be viewed as a temporary measure - on what basis will the government decide to renew or end it?

Is it right?

The question of whether repression of information rights is ever justified may be approached from at least three perspectives. The first sees certain human rights including information rights as inalienable, and demands that even under duress a democratic society live and defend itself by the rules and mores appropriate to more settled times. Many in Ireland and Britain take that uncompromising stance and need no persuasion from ARTICLE 19.

The second view is that the enjoyment or curtailment of rights is conditional on the stability or otherwise of a particular society at any given moment. Those who hold that view would say that there are higher-value rights, such as the right to life, and lower-value rights, such as freedom of expression, and that the lower-value rights of some or all may be suspended where necessary or expedient in combatting a threat to the enjoyment of the more fundamental rights. The key idea is *suspension*, for it is assumed that the deprivation of rights is only *temporary*, until such time as the threat has receded or the suspension has proven to have a nil or negative effect. Thus one ultimately returns to the first question of whether the repression works.

The third view imputes a degree of reciprocity to the existence or otherwise of a right: those who allow others to enjoy their rights should enjoy equal rights, but those who infringe the rights of others should lose the protection of some of their own rights. It is, of course, the basis of criminal law that a crime, which is invariably an infringement of rights, justifies the punishment of the perpetrator, usually by deprivation of liberty or property, but it does not follow that the concept has a more general application, as in saying that a section of the population which opposes an incumbent government thereby loses entitlement to the protection of the state, which in a democracy exists to serve the whole people.

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The more limited argument that those who seek the abolition of the state should not be permitted to use state-controlled broadcasting systems to advocate their position (the basis of the Irish Government's ban) is equally unattractive, for it implies that the state's first duty in its role as public trustee is to promote its own interests as defined by the incumbent government, and this has immediately apparent dangers if extended to the duties and functions of the state in any other area.

It is, in essence, an untenable position in a democratic society to justify depriving individual citizens of a liberty not because of any criminal act on their part but because the state does not like the way they think. (To suggest that the deprivation is not individual, but collective, as for example in restricting only those who claim to be speaking on behalf of an organisation, is surely specious; if the state recognises a right to free association, as both the Irish and UK authorities do in the case of Sinn Féin and the UDA, no-one can justly be penalised for exercising of that right.)

Defending the right of dissident political groupings to have their opinions aired and challenged by the broadcasting media on the same basis and within the same limitations as those applied to mainstream parties does not imply any sympathy either for the particular standpoint of the dissidents or for the tactics which they adopt. Indeed, affording such opportunity provides the means to communicate the majority's abhorrence of such tactics and standpoints.

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The way forward

The only way forward in Northern Ireland is to turn people away from violence and towards political debate. Censorship undoubtedly impedes this process. Those who are most passionately opposed to the violence of Ireland's paramilitary groups, and who are most serious about ending that violence, must think not of how best to defeat them militarily - the evidence so far is that that simply cannot be done - but rather of how to defeat them through political debate with their

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supporters, and, simultaneously, how to persuade the individuals who are now killing people regardless of laws, ethics and personal consequences to stop doing so.

That means openly examining, discussing, analysing and directly addressing the political stances and the tactical approaches taken by such groups and their public apologists, and persuading those who now support such groups that there is either a better fundamental goal or a more effective, and ethical, means of achieving or defeating the purpose on which they are currently focused. If the British and Irish governments are serious in presenting themselves as arbiters in, rather than parties to, the Northern strife, then they must encourage debate and dialogue.

That means allowing those who speak for all groups, but especially those who now communicate through violence, to put their case on television, on the radio and in the print media, and allowing their arguments to stand or fall on their merits, in open interplay with the views advanced by the many opposing and competing political forces.

Responsible journalism can operate in ways other than the anti-journalism of the gagging laws. It can actually work by allowing journalists more leeway to express their own views, rather than heaping specific bans on top of the already limiting ethos of "impartial" broadcasting. When Enniskillen happened - and there will be more Enniskillens - there was no-one to whom the broadcast media, as the interlocutors of civil society with the men of violence, could put the simple question: "How can you possibly justify this?" There was no-one whose blustering apology could be exhibited, confronted and countered. Popular abhorrence of terroristic violence naturally extends into the media professions, but letting its proponents be heard and letting journalists editorialise on behalf of the majority are a better defence than pretending that such people do not exist.

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Will the new broadcasting regime in the 1990s - new television channels and authorities, new national and local radio stations - have any effect on freedom of information issues in relation to the Irish troubles? Too early to say, perhaps; it is more than likely that new operators will be subjected to the same, or even stricter, controls as the existing

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channels, and the downward pressure on journalistic standards which some foresee as a likely consequence of greater competition may actually reduce the amount or standard of coverage.

In the meantime, there is an urgent need for all those who value the rights of the individual - rights which are violated not only by terrorism but by unacceptable government action - to analyse, understand and oppose censorship and secrecy.

The protection of freedom of information and freedom of expression in both societies needs more than a new approach to these freedoms in the context of Northern Ireland. It requires a new approach to these rights in British and Irish society as a whole. A democratic society is an open society. It should not accept that the murky world of secrecy, security agencies and the powers that they deploy are beyond its scrutiny. To the contrary, all information, including information on the functions and activities of all security services, should be accessible to the public except where it can be clearly demonstrated to independent judicial authority that disclosure will compromise the privacy of the individual or the enforcement of the law. The use and abuse of national security and anti-terrorism justifications for censorship and secrecy on both sides of the Irish border underlines the need for freedom of information laws in both countries. The Parliaments of both states should as an initial step debate censorship and secrecy over Northern Ireland as outlined in this report, with a view to establishing the full accountability of all security agencies through clear, visible and defensible laws.

The broadcasting bans in both countries should be withdrawn, but beyond that there is a need for new legal guarantees of the editorial independence of the broadcaster. It is for the programme maker and the journalist to decide, subject to the ordinary law, who may be interviewed on television or radio. It is not the role of government to determine the political content of broadcasting or of any other media. ARTICLE 19 believes that such interference cannot be justified under the international standards for the protection of freedom of expression and freedom of the media, standards which both governments are bound to uphold.

11. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Some of the literature and organisations listed below and concerned with freedom of information issues in the context of the Irish Troubles take a partisan stance with which ARTICLE 19 does not associate itself. Particular thanks are due to the Committee on the Administration of Justice; David Millar of the Glasgow Media Group; Liz Curtis; Mike Jempson, Mike Mullan and Liam Clarke.

Further reading

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- ☐ The Windlesham-Rampton Report on Death on the Rock. Faber & Faber, London, 1989

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Contacts - Addresses

The following organisations and institutions document and/or campaign on many of the issues described in this report.

- ☐ **Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom**
9 Poland St, London W1V 3DG; (01) 437 2795; formed 1979 to work for fair and accurate reporting

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☐ **Committee on the Administration of Justice**

45-47 Donegall Street, Belfast BT9 6GE; (0232) 232394; civil liberties pressure group

☐ **Committee to Protect Journalists**

16 West 42nd Street, 3rd Floor, New York, NY 10017; (212) 983-5355. Investigates and protests violations of press freedom around the world.

☐ **Derry Film & Video Collective**

1 Westend Park, Derry; (0504) 260326; makers of the *Mother Ireland* feature banned from Channel 4

☐ **Index on Censorship**

39c Highbury Place, London N5 1QP; (01) 359 0161; documents censorship and publishes affected material in magazine of the same name.

☐ **Information on Ireland**

PO Box 958, London W14 0JF; (01) 602 4195; publishes information about Ireland additional to that given by the national media

☐ **International Federation of Journalists**

International Press Centre, Bvd Charlemagne, Bte 8, B-1041 Brussels, Belgium; (2) 238 0951; federation of media trade unions

☐ **International Journalism Institute**

Ruzova 7, 11000 Prague 1, Czechoslovakia. Publisher of regular bulletins on press freedom.

☐ **Irish Council for Civil Liberties**

4 Nassau Street, Dublin 2. Civil Rights pressure group.

☐ **Irish Information Partnership**

11 Campion Road, London SW15; (01) 789 5233; compiles and publishes statistical information and analysis on the Troubles

☐ **Liberty/National Council for Civil Liberties**

21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA; (01) 403 3888; the main civil rights pressure group in Britain

☐ **Media Watch**

c/o Resource Publications, PO Box 1494, Dublin 1; modelled on the British CPBF (see above)

☐ **National Union of Journalists**

Acorn House, 314 Gray's Inn Road, London WC1X 8DP; (01) 278 7916; or 8th Floor, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1; (01) 748694; the main union for print and broadcast journalists in Britain and Ireland

☐ **Repeal Section 31 Committee**

c/o USI, 16 North Great George Street, Dublin 1; campaigns for abolition of the Republic's broadcasting ban

☐ **Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights**

55 Royal Avenue, Belfast BT1 1TA, Tel. (0232) 243987; government-appointed "watchdog" on human rights abuses in Northern Ireland

Author information

This report was initially drafted in September 1989 by Ciarán Ó Maoláin, a freelance journalist based in Northern Ireland. ARTICLE 19 staff modified, completed and edited the text. ARTICLE 19 wishes to thank all the organisations and individuals who contributed information for this report.

Special thanks are due to Trog for kindly donating his cartoon which illustrates the cover.

Abbreviations

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> CAJ | Committee on the Administration of Justice |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cllr | Councillor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> DUP | Democratic Unionist Party |
| <input type="checkbox"/> EC | European Community |

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

- ☐ **EPA** Emergency Provisions Act
- ☐ **GCHQ** Government Communications Headquarters
- ☐ **IBA** Independent Broadcasting Authority
- ☐ **INLA** Irish National Liberation Army
- ☐ **IRA** Irish Republican Army
- ☐ **ITA** Independent Television Authority
- ☐ **ITN** Independent Television News
- ☐ **ITV** Independent Television
- ☐ **MEP** Member of the European Parliament
- ☐ **MI5** UK domestic security agency
- ☐ **MI6** UK foreign intelligence agency
- ☐ **MP** Member of Parliament
- ☐ **NCCL** Liberty/National Council for Civil Liberties
- ☐ **NI** Northern Ireland
- ☐ **OASA** Offences against the State Act
- ☐ **PACE** Police and Criminal Evidence (Act or Order)
- ☐ **PPB** Party Political Broadcast
- ☐ **PTA** Prevention of Terrorism Act
- ☐ **RTE** Radio Telefis Eireann
- ☐ **RUC** Royal Ulster Constabulary
- ☐ **SACHR** Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights
- ☐ **SDLP** Social Democratic and Labour Party
- ☐ **SDP** Social Democratic Party
- ☐ **SF** Sinn Féin
- ☐ **SLD** Social and Liberal Democrats
- ☐ **TD** Teachta Dala (member of Irish parliament)
- ☐ **UDA** Ulster Defence Association
- ☐ **UDR** Ulster Defence Regiment
- ☐ **UFF** Ulster Freedom Fighters
- ☐ **UTV** Ulster Television

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

- ☐ **UUP** **Ulster Unionist Party**
- ☐ **UVF** **Ulster Volunteer Force**

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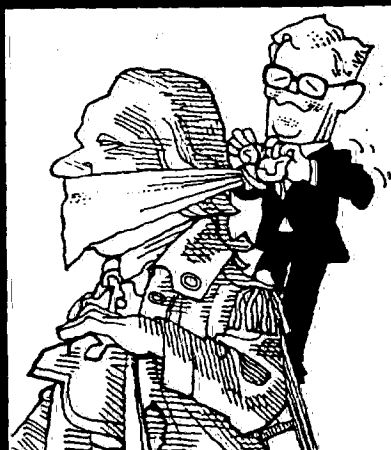
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